

Message Text

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USIA FOR IOP/M, IAA, IPS. STATE FOR AF

FROM ARS

E.O. 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: MEDIA REACTION -- KISSINGER/AFRICA

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF EDITORIAL IN "JEUNE AFRIQUE" DATED SEPTEMBER 24, BY EDITOR IN CHIEF (AND RECENT IV GRANTEE) PAUL BERNETEL, TITLED "THE ESSENTIAL AND THE INCIDENTAL" (L' ESSENTIEL ET L' ACCESSOIRE").

2. TEXT: "A JOURNEY OF 12 DAYS, THREE PLANNED STOPS:\$-4-ES-SALAAM, LUSAKA, PRETORIA. PLUS POSSIBLY ANOTHER: SALISBURY. HENRY KISSINGER OPENED STPTEMBER 14 THE MOST DELICATE PHASE OF WHAT CERTAIN AMERICAN EDITORIALISTS ARE ALREADY CALLING #HIS AFRICAN ADVENTURE." THE MISSIONOF THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE IS DELICATE IN MORE THAN ONE WAY. REGARDING HIS CAREER, DEAR HENRY IS IN THE FINAL ACT. IN JANUARY, WHATEVER THE RESULT OF THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS, HE WILL HAVE A SUCCESSOR. FOR HIM, AS FOR POLITICAL OBSERVERS, IT IS THE TIME FOR A BALANCE SHEET TO BE WRITTEN. A BALANCE ALREADY CONTROVERSIAL, BUT WHICH WILL BE INDISCUTABLY NEGATIVE IN THE EVENT OF A SPECTACULAR FAILURE OF HIS AFRICAN MISSION.

3. "EQUALLY DELICATE, THE AMERICAN POSITION ON THE BURNING
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QUESTIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. DESPITE ALL OF KISSINGER' S

EFFORTS, AFRICAN OPINION CANNOT FORGET THE IMMOBILITY OF AMERICAN POLICY FOR ALMOST 15 YEARS REGARDING THE RACIST REGIMES. THE SUDDENNESS OF THE INTEREST DEMONSTRATED BY WASHINGTON GIVES THE IMPRESSION -- WHATEVER THE STYLISTIC PRECAUTIONS AND PRUDENCE OF APPROACH WHICH CHARACTERIZE THIS INTEREST-- OF A LAST MINUTE EFFORT TO SAVE THE ESSENTIAL.

4. "IT WILL THUS BE DIFFICULT, EVEN IF IN THE SHORT TERM THE RESULTS OF THE KISSINGER MISSION ARE HAPPY, TO MAKE AFRICAN OPINION FORGET THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS EUROPEAN FRIENDS DID NOT REACT TO THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, INJUSTICE AND ARBITRARINESS WHICH RAGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA UNTIL THE DAY THAT THE MINORITY REGIMES RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT SITUATION WERE MENACED IN THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND EVEN IN THEIR EXISTENCE. THIS PSYCHOLOGICAL HANDICAP, OF WHICH HENRY KISSINGER IS PERFECTLY CONSCIOUS AND WHICH EXPLAINS THE PRUDENCE WITH WHICH HE ENTERED INTO THIS AFFAIR, SYSTEMATICALLY SEEKING AFRICAN COVER IF NOT APPROVAL, IS AN ESSENTIAL GIVEN OF THAT WHICH WILL BE PLAYED OUT DURING THE COMING MONTHS IN THE SOUTH OF THE CONTINENT.

5. "ALSO DELICATE, THE FINALITY OF A MISSION WHICH, AS DEMOCRATIC SENATOR CLARK QUITE CORRECTLY STATED RECENTLY IN WASHINGTON, SEEMS MORE DESIGNED TO COUNTER SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE REGION THAN TO INAUGURATE A COHERENT AFRICAN POLICY WHICH WOULD CONFORM TO THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE AND RESPOND TO AFRO-AMERICAN CULTURAL AND ETHNIC AFFINITIES.

6. DELICATE, FINALLY, THIS FIREMAN'S MISSION ASSIGNED TO THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE, FOR THE FIRE ALREADY SMOLDERS EVERYWHERE AND HE PREVIOUSLY HAD REFUSED TO AID THOSE WHO IN A GESTURE OF DESPERATION HAVE LIGHTED IT.

7. "THESE POINTS ARE INDISPENSABLE BOTH TO PLACE THE KISSINGER MISSION IN ITS TRUE CONTEXT AND TO MEASURE ITS IMPACT, AND PERHAPS THE INTEREST, HOWEVER LIMITED, IT MAY HAVE FOR AFRICA. WITHOUT LETTING ONESELF BE CAPTURED FOR ALL THAT BY AN OPTIMISM THAT NOTHING CAN JUSTIFY.

8. "IN THIS REGARD, THE SUMMIT MEETING HELD IN DAR-ES-SALAAM SEPTEMBER 5 AND 6, AMONG THE ZAMBIAN KENNETH KAUNDA, THE TANZA-
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NIAN JULIUS NYRERE, THE ANGOLAN AGOSTINHO NATO, THE BOTSWANAN KERETSE KHAMA, AND THE MOZAMBIQUAN SAMORA MACHEL SHOWS THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION.

9. "HENRY KISSINGER EXPECTED FROM THIS MEETING THAT THE FRONT LINE COUNTRIES WOULD GIVE HIM THE GREEN LIGHT. HE EVEN EXPECTED A PUBLIC APPEAL TO BEGIN A MEDIATION MISSION. HE ONLY GOT THE ACCEPTANCE BY NYRERE AND KAUNDA TO RECEIVE HIM BEFORE VISITING

PRETORIA. IT WAS, OF COURSE, ENOUGH TO BEGIN THE TRIP. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO DEFLECT THE SUSPICION OF THE AFRICANS.

10. "THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE HAD, BY THE WAY, THE DISAGREEABLE SURPRISE OF LEARNING THAT AT THE URGENT REQUEST OF SAMORA MACHEL AND JULIUS NYRERE, AGOSTINHO NETO WAS ADDED TO THE FRONTLINE COUNTRIES. THE PRESENCE OF THE ANGOLAN PRESIDENT WITNESSES IN ANY CASE THAT THE AMERICAN MANEUVER THAT SOUGHT TO SECURE THE APPROVAL OF A MAJORITY OF THE 'REASONABLE' COUNTRIES, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, AND TO A LESSER DEGREE TANZANIA, HAD GONE FLAT. THE POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM OF THE GROUP OF FIVE CONSTITUTES FOR AFRICA A GUARANTEE OF FIRMNESS AND UNITY.

11. "INCIDENTALLY, ALTHOUGH THE DISCUSSIONS AMONG THE .../... MORE

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FIVE TOOK PLACE IN SECRET, WE KNOW TODAY FROM AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC SOURCES THAT PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYRERE PRESENTED TO THEIR COLLEAGUES AN ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN TO REGULATE THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, WHICH HAD REPORTEDLY RECEIVED MR. VORSTER'S ACCEPTANCE. THIS PLAN INCLUDED NOTABLY THE DEPARTURE OF IAN SMITH DURING THE COMING TWO MONTHS AND THE RETURN OF RHODESIA TO BRITISH JURISDICTION, WITH A LOCAL EXECUTIVE WHO WOULD OPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE 'BLACK NATIONALISTS.' A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT CHARGED WITH PREPARING ELECTIONS WOULD BE SET UP WITHIN A YEAR. INDEPENDENCE WOULD FOLLOW SIX MONTHS LATER.

12. ACCORDING TO THE DAR-ES-SALAAM CORRESPONDENT OF THE BRITISH WEEKLY, THE OBSERVER, PRESIDENT NYRERE, AT THE INSTRUCTION

OF HIS COLLEAGUES, INFORMED LONDON AND WASHINGTON THAT FOR THE AFRICANS THE CONDITIONS OF MR. SMITH'S ELIMINATION AND RETURN OF RHODESIA TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE WERE SECONDARY. THE ONLY AND TRUE PROBLEM IS THAT OF ACCESSION OF THE MAJORITY TO POWER, THAT IS, THE REAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE. IN FACT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN-SOUTH AFRICAN PLAN AIMS AT FORSTALLING THE NEW GENERATION OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS WHICH IS TODAY RECOGNIZED BY ALL AFRICAN FRONTLINE LEADERS. IT CAN BE SEEN: THE HENRY KISSINGER PLAN RISKS ACCENTUATING THE DIVISION OF ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS AND OF REINTRODUCING INTO THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS POLITICIANS WHO ARE LOSING STEAM.

13. "CONCERNING NAMIBIA, THE DAR-ES-SALAAM MEETING FORMALLY NOTED VORSTER'S AGREEMENT TO SEND A SOUTH AFRICAN DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE, TO WHICH SWAPO UNCLASSIFIED

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HAS BEEN INVITED, BUT THE BLOCK PRESISTS. IN FACT, THE FIVE WHO MET AT DAR-ES-SALAAM REFUSE TO SWALLOW THE SOUTH AFRICAN PLAN, WHICH CONSISTS OF DROWNING SWAPO AMONG 20 OTHER NAMIBIAN ORGANIZATIONS. MANEUVERIIN CONTRADICTION WITH RESOLUTIONS OF THE UN AND OAU. THE DECISION WAS TAKEN NOT TO ACCEPT THE SENDING OF A SWAPO DELEGATION TO GENEVA UNLESS IT WAS RECOGNIZED AS THE PRINCIPAL PARTY.

14. "FINALLY, WITH REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA, THE AMERICANS FIND THEMSELVES TODAY IN A MOST UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION. IN EFFECT, THEY HAVE QUIETLY SUPPORTED FOR MANY YEARS THE BANTUSTAN PROJECT. THIS PROJECT IS TODAY REJECTED BY THE PRINCIPAL INTERESTED PARTIES-- THE TRADITIONAL CHIEFS. A FEW HOURS BEFORE KISSINGER'S DEPARTURE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, IT WAS INDICATED IN WASHINGTON THAT THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES OF THE LEADER OF THE TRANSKAI BANTUSTAN, CHIEF MATANZIMA, HAD BEEN POSTPONED SINE DIE. (TRANSKAI IS TO ACCEDE TO INDEPENDENCE IN OCTOBER.) IN FACT, THE TURMOIL OF WHICH SOUTH AFRICA IS THE THEATER, THE DAILY MASSACRES OF AFRICAN DEMONSTRATORS, THE SUCCESS OF THE STRIKES, THE MORE AND MORE DETERMINED REJECTION OF APARTHEID BY THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNTRY, MAKES DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, THE REALIZATION OF THE KISSINGER PLAN, WHICH CONSISTS OF GIVING PRIORITY TO THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN QUESTIONS, THUS GIVING VORSTER AND HIS REGIME BREATHING SPACE.

15. "IF BY HIS INTERVENTION, THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE MAKES THE RACISTS OF PRETORIA AND SALISBURY RETREAT -- POLITICAL AFRICA CAN ONLY CONGRATULATE HIM. BUT IT SHOULD AVOID OPTIMISM. PAST EXPERIENCE AND THE EFFORTS UNDERWAY SHOW THAT THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA, AND NAMIBIA IS THE ONLY DECISIVE FACTOR FOR CHANGE. FOR THE AFRICANS, TO EXPECT EVERYTHING FROM THE KISSINGER MISSION IS TO BELIEVE IN THE VIRTUES OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN CARP AND RABBIT. WHAT IS IMPORTANT, THEREFORE,

IS THE ABSOLUTE PRIORITY OF AIDING AND SUPPORTING THE FIGHT OF
THE OPPRESSED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA."

16. (COMMENT: THE ABOVE EDITORIAL, QUOTED IN ITS
ENTIRETY, IS THE LEAST NEGATIVE JEUNE AFRIQUE HAS PRINTED ON
US-AFRICAN RELATIONS, AND THE KISSINGER EFFORTS IN PARTICULAR,
SINCE HIS LUSAKA SPEECH OF APRIL 1976.)ANDERSON

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